

# EXHIBIT B.12

## **EFRAIM KARSH**

Professor of Middle East & Mediterranean Studies  
King's College London  
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Date of Birth: September 5, 1953

### **Education**

<b>PhD</b>	International Relations, Tel-Aviv University (1985)
<b>MA</b>	International Relations, Tel-Aviv University (1980)
<b>BA</b>	Modern History of the Middle East & Arabic Language and Culture, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1975)

### **Positions at King's College**

1996 -	Professor of Middle East & Mediterranean Studies
1994-2010	Founding Director, Middle East & Mediterranean Studies Program. Offers interdisciplinary research and teaching in the fields of Middle East & Mediterranean history, politics and international relations, culture and society. Currently includes 7 fulltime members of staff, 3 teaching fellows, and 4 visiting fellows, as well as some 90 postgraduate students (MA and PhD)
1992-96	Reader (Associate Professor) in War Studies
1989-92	Lecturer in War Studies

### **Other Positions**

1994 - Founding Editor, *Israel Affairs*

1994 - Founding Editor, *Routledge Series in Israeli History, Politics, and Society*

2010 - Editor, *Middle East Quarterly*

## **Previous Positions**

1984-89	Senior Research Fellow, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel-Aviv University
1986-89	Lecturer in Political Science, Tel-Aviv University
1982-85	Director of Studies in International Relations, Israel's Open University, with responsibility for 20 members of staff and c. 400 undergraduate students
1982-85	Assistant and Instructor in International Relations, Tel-Aviv University
1974-81	Intelligence Officer in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). Attained rank of Major

## **Fellowships & Visiting Positions**

Jul. 2003 - Jan. 2004	First Nachshon Visiting Professor in Israel Studies, Harvard University
Jan- Jul. 2003	Starr Fellow in Jewish Studies, Harvard University
Autumn '99	Visiting Professor, Universite Assas 2, Sorbonne
Summer '90	Visiting Professor of Political Science, Columbia University
Summer '89	Visiting Professor of Political Science, Columbia University
Feb. 1988	Research Fellow, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Wilson Center, Washington D.C.
Jan. 1988	Participant in the International Visitor Program, U.S. Information Agency (USIA)
Summer '87	Visiting Scholar, London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London
Oct. 1985- Oct. 1986	Research Associate, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London

Jan.-Oct '85 Visiting Scholar, University of Helsinki

## **Grants and Awards at KCL**

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 2007-10 | \$260,000 grant from the Hertog Foundation (New York) for a book on the origin of the Arab-Israeli conflict.   |
| 2005    | £10,000 grant from the Littman Trust for the study of Radical Islam.   |
| 2002    | £1,500 grant by the Committee for Central and Inner Asia, Cambridge University in support of a study on the former Soviet Muslim republics.              |
| 1994    | £5,000 grant by the British Academy in support of a book on the modern history of the Middle East.   |
| 1990-91 | £62,000 Grant by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) to lead a project on “Nuclear, Chemical, and Missile Proliferation in the Middle East.” |

## **PROFESSIONAL STANDING**

### **General**

- My vast scholarly output - 15 authored books, 15 edited volumes, 5 monographs, over 100 academic articles, and some 60 op-ed pieces - has established me at the forefront of the field of Middle Eastern studies; has generated important intellectual debates; and has changed both popular and scholarly perceptions of modern Middle Eastern history and politics.
- My books have been issued by the most prestigious academic and trade publishers (Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Oxford, The Free Press, among others), and have received extensive international exposure well beyond the confines of academia. They have sold hundreds of thousands of copies, have been reviewed in the most prestigious newspapers and magazines in the Western world, and have received widespread radio and television coverage.
- Despite being based in the UK, I am one of the half-dozen best known Middle East experts in the US. Take the recent CENTCOM directory of Centers of Excellence on the Middle East, which ranks me as the fifth highly quoted academic among 20 top published authors on the Middle East (my articles are quoted three times as often as the best of the four non-American scholars on the list).
- I have acted as a referee for numerous academic journals, including *American Political Science Review*; *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*; *Armed Forces & Society*; *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*; *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*; *Cold War History*; *Conflict Quarterly*; *Diplomacy and Statecraft*; *Environmental Politics*; *European Journal of International Relations*; *Imperial and Commonwealth History*;

*International Affairs; International History Review; International Security; International Studies Quarterly; Journal of Cold War Studies; Journal of Conflict Resolution; Journal of Contemporary History; Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History; Journal of Military History; Journal of Peace Research; Journal of Strategic Studies; Journal of the Royal Geographic Society; Mediterranean Politics; Middle Eastern Journal; Millennium; Nations and Nationalism; Political Science Quarterly; Review of International Studies; Security Dialogue; War in History.*

- I have been a regular consultant/referee to many academic publishers in the fields of modern history, international relations, and strategic affairs, as well as Middle Eastern and Israeli history, politics, and society. These include Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Oxford, Cambridge, and Columbia University Presses, Routledge, MacMillan, Simon & Schuster, HarperCollins, The Free Press, I.B. Tauris, Frank Cass, and Valentine Mitchell.
- I have served on many academic and professional boards, including the Board of Directors of the Association of Israel Studies; International Advisory Board of the BESA Centre for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University; Board of Directors of Scholars for Peace in the Middle East (SPME); Advisory Board of the Centre for Near Eastern Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS); International Advisory Board for Academic Freedom (IAB), Bar-Ilan University; Research Board of the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (London); and the International Advisory Board of the scholarly Turkish journal *Review of International Law and Politics*.
- I am a regular commentator to the international media and have appeared on all the main radio and television networks in the United Kingdom and the United States, among other countries, including such programs as *Nightline* (ABC) and its British counterpart *Newsnight* (BBC 2), *Q & A* (CNN), *48 Hours* (CBS), *TV AM* (ITN), *The Sunday Programme* (LWT) *The World Today* (BBC World Service), *All Things Considered* (US National Public Radio), and *The Larry King Show*.
- I have contributed articles to leading national and international newspapers and magazines. These include *The New York Times*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New Republic*, *Commentary Magazine*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Sun*, *The National Post* (Canada), *The London Times*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, *The Spectator*, *The Scotsman*, *The Jerusalem Post*, *Die Zeit*, *Der Spiegel*, *Welt am Sonntag*, *Daily Star* (Lebanon), *Irish Times*, *Die Weltwoche* (Switzerland), *El Pais*, *Maariv*, and *Haaretz*.
- I have acted as consultant on Middle Eastern and Israel affairs to the British Ministry of Defence (MOD) and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), as well as to national and international economic companies/organizations; have regularly lectured at military staff colleges in both the United Kingdom and Israel, and have briefed several parliamentary committees, such as the House of Commons Defence Committee. I have also contributed to the production of television and radio documentaries, and have advised leading law firms on several substantial insurance claims attending Middle

Eastern and/or African conflicts.

- I have addressed numerous forums and institutions worldwide, including Oxford, Cambridge, Columbia, and Harvard universities, the Sorbonne, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, the American Enterprise Institute, the Middle East Forum (Philadelphia), Australian National University, the universities of Sydney, Monash, and South Wales, the Australian Institute of International Affairs (Sydney), and the Australian Defence Academy (Canberra).
- I have acted as a referee for grant-awarding organizations, including the ESRC, Leverhulme Trust, the British Academy, and the U.S. Institute for Peace.

### Specific Indicators

- In the Fall Term of 2003 I was the First Nachshon Visiting Professor in Israel Studies at Harvard University.
- My book *Islamic Imperialism: A History* (2006; revised paperback edition 2007; German edition 2007) has received extraordinary scholarly and public exposure, selling in excess of 170,000 copies: arguably Yale UP's bestselling book ever.

The book was listed by the *New York Sun* as one of the Best Books of 2006, was chosen by the *Sunday Telegraph* for its Summer Books Selection, and was nominated "Sachbuch der Woche" (Non-Fiction Book of the Week) by the Austrian paper *Österreich*. I have been asked to discuss the book in numerous academic and public venues, including Yale, Stanford, Ohio State, and Freiburg universities, the Canadian War Museum, and the Politische Akademie der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

- My book *Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789-1923* (Harvard UP, 1999; paperback edition 2001) received two full-length reviews in the *New York Times*, among other places.
- My book *Fabricating Israeli History: The "New Historians"* (1997; second, expanded edition 2000, reprinted 2003, electronic edition 2005; Hebrew edition 1999, reprinted 2001) attracted widespread attention and generated a heated scholarly and public debate that lasted for well over a decade. Despite sustained attempts to exclude it from the classroom, *Fabricating Israeli History* has become the standard reference book for students, academics, NGOs, advocacy groups, and members of the public, anxious to rebut the pervasive anti-Israel prejudice in both the classroom and the media. Even today, thirteen years after its publication, the title *Fabricating Israeli History* regularly scores in excess of 2 million Google search hits ([2,250,000 hits on January 14, 2011](#)), the vast majority of which relates directly to the book.

- My studies on the Gulf conflicts of the 1980s and 1990s, together with my political biography of Saddam Hussein, have placed me at the forefront of world expertise on the political and military affairs of the Gulf, and made me the foremost proponent of the “defensive” interpretation of Saddam’s foreign policy, tracing the origins of Iraq’s external aggression, notably the invasions of Iran and Kuwait, to his chronic political insecurity and the lengths to which this had driven him.

When I first articulated this theory, I was in marked minority, the prevailing view being that the invasions reflected Saddam’s grand design for regional hegemony. However, with the passage of time and the surfacing of further information, including captured official Iraqi documents, my theory has been fully vindicated to become the received wisdom regarding Iraq’s occupation of Kuwait and the ensuing war.

- In March 1991 *Newsweek Magazine* carried a full back-page interview with me on Saddam Hussein. *Der Spiegel* carried a two-page interview with me on Saddam’s political philosophy four years later.
- The web version of my article “1948, Israel, and the Palestinians - The True Story” (*Commentary Magazine*, May 2008) set a record for the journal’s most page views ever. The second ever article to be posted in a fully annotated version alongside the original piece, it remained on the Top 5 most viewed & most emailed categories for more than a year, scoring over 120,000 hits. It was widely reprinted on the blogosphere, including the websites of such prominent papers as *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New Republic*.
- My Article “The Palestinians, Alone” (*New York Times*, 2 August 2010), has attracted considerable international attention. It was reprinted in a string of leading papers, including *The International Herald Tribune*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *India Times*, *Pakistan Observer*, and *Khaleej Times*; was widely published in the blogosphere; has triggered several rebuttal attempts, notably by the prominent Arab-American pollster and activist James Zogby; and was selected one of the day’s Five Best Columns by [The Atlantic Wire](#).
- In 1994 I founded *Israel Affairs* - the first English-language multi-disciplinary refereed journal in the field - which I have edited ever since. Steered by a distinguished editorial board, the journal quickly established itself as the foremost scholarly source on the Israeli experience in all its aspects, from history and politics, to literature and art, to strategic affairs and economics, to the Arab-Israeli conflict and Israel-Diaspora relations. It has retained its leading position in subsequent years in the face of growing competition, as evidenced inter alia by the quality and quantity of its articles, nurturing a young generation of Israel scholars and serving as a central means of communication between the various communities interested in Israel.
- I am Founding General Editor of the Routledge book Series on *Israeli History, Politics, and Society*. More than 50 books published, both by leading scholars and practitioners, and by young academics making their professional debut.

- In July 2010 I assumed editorship of the *Middle East Quarterly*, arguably the most prestigious and widely circulated scholarly journal in the field of contemporary Middle Eastern affairs.

## PhD Completions

I have supervised 28 students to completion, twenty of whom have come from outside the EU. Most of these former students, as well as my current 14 research students (11 non-EU), came to KCL on my name recognition.

- Jonathan Schanzer (Sept. 2010): "The Republican Task Force on Terrorism: A History 1989-2001."
- Gil Samsonov (Sept. 2010): "Intergenerational Relations in Israel's Likud Party."
- Luigi Reale (2009): "Jewish Internment in Italian Concentration Camps during WWII."
- Howard Patten (2008): "Not So Strange Bedfellows: Israel's Policy of the Periphery at the United Nations."
- Andrew Roe (2008): "From the Annexation of the Punjab to the Pursuit of the Fakir of Ipi: British Challenges & Responses on the North-West Frontier, 1849-1947."
- Damla Aras (2008): "The Turkish-Syria Crisis, 1998: A Case Study."
- Eleni Stavrou (2008): "Greece and the Arab World during the Papandreou Era 1981-1989."
- Walter Rothschild (2007): "The Development of the Railway System in Mandatory Palestine."
- Ella Akerman (2007): "Russia's Policy toward Iraq 1991-2003."
- Peter deNeufville (2006): "Ahmad Shah Masoud and the North Afghan Uprising."
- Hidayet Erbil (2006): "Turkey's Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era."
- David Shiek (2005): "Development of the Israeli Navy 1948-2000."
- Udi Lebel (2003): "The Politics of Commemoration: The Case of Israel."
- Raqueul Shaul (2002): "The Making of Japan's Middle Eastern Policy 1974-2000."
- Hassan Abedin (2002): "Abdul Aziz al-Saud and the Great Game in Arabia, 1896-1946."
- Sedat Laciner (2001): "From Kemalism to Ozalism: The Ideological Evolution of Turkish Foreign Policy."
- Fiorella Seiler (2001): "King of the Armed Ghetto: Israel in the West-German National Press 1977-82."
- Robert Waller (1999): "Libya's National Security Policy 1969-94."
- Ronen Hoffmann (1999): "The Impractical peace: Syrian-Israeli Peace Negotiations 1992-95."
- Jonathan Sless (1999): "Britain's Policy towards Israel 1949-51."
- Rory Miller (1998): "Divided Against Zion: Anti-Zionist Opposition in Britain to a Jewish State in Palestine, 1945-48."
- Jack Cann (1996): "Portuguese Counterinsurgency Campaigns in Africa 1961-1974 : a Military Analysis."
- Shimon Naveh (1995): "In Pursuit of Military Excellence: The Evolution of Operational Theory."



- Andrew Rathmell (1994): “Secret War in the Middle East: The Covert Struggle for Syria, 1949-61.”
- Leonard Leshuk (1994): “American Perceptions of Soviet Economic and Military Power 1921-46.”
- Alan Ray (1994): “Why Nations Intervene: The Sources of Foreign Military Intervention.”
- John Fayemi (1994): “Threats, Military Expenditure and National Security: Analysis of Trends in Nigeria's defence Planning, 1970-90.”
- Jimmy Peters (1993): “From a Constabulary to a Political Force: The Transformation of the Nigerian Military.”
- James Smith (1992): “Stopping Wars: Defining the Obstacles to Ceasefire.”

## Academic Leadership and Administration

Through my academic research and public activities I have substantially enhanced KCL's international visibility and reputation as a leading centre of Middle Eastern and Mediterranean studies, and have brought it to the attention of vast audiences who would have otherwise been totally unaware of its existence and accomplishments. Specifically, my reputation has attracted a large number of research and postgraduate students from all over the world who have come to KCL to study with me.

In 1994 I established the Middle East & Mediterranean Studies Program (MEMS) at King's College London in order to provide interdisciplinary teaching and research in the history, politics, international relations, security, culture, and society of these regions. Despite its small size - run by myself until 2000 (10 PhD completions & 104 MA completions), and by two members of staff until 2008, with no administrative support whatsoever - the program has quickly gained widespread national and international reputation for leading research and teaching in its field. This has been evidenced *inter alia* by applications from prominent scholars for affiliation to the program; by the attainment of British Academy and British Council studentships by applicants; by the program's active interface with intellectuals, policymakers and diplomatic staff; and by its diverse international composition, with students from North America, Asia, Europe and the Mediterranean/Middle East region.

Having consistently received the top ranking in all research assessment exercises, and been regularly complimented by external examiners on the quality of its teaching and PhD submissions, in 2008 the program was allowed to undergo substantial expansion. It is now home to seven fulltime members of staff, three teaching fellows, and six visiting fellows, as well as nearly 50 research students - one of the largest cohorts of doctoral students dealing with the Middle East and the Mediterranean in the UK. It also offers two taught MA courses in **Middle East & Mediterranean Studies** (offered since 1994) and **Conflict Resolution in Divided Societies** (beginning September 2010) - a strategically targeted high-fee MA.

MEMS held three large international conferences, in addition to occasional workshops and discussions, with participants coming from the Middle East, Europe, and the United States. Its fortnightly seminar has been of a particularly high public profile, regularly attracting audiences

of 150-300 from outside the College, and, indeed, from outside London. In 2009 it established the Centre for the Study of Divided Societies (CSDS) as an interdisciplinary forum for the development of scholarly enterprises by leading researchers seeking to further knowledge on ethnic conflict regulation, peace processes, third party intervention and truth and reconciliation processes.

**Efraim Karsh**

**PUBLICATIONS**

Books	1
Monographs	2
Edited volumes	2
Articles and book chapters	3
Miscellaneous	13
Newspaper & Magazine Articles	13
Major Book Reviews	17
Book Reviews	18

## BOOKS

15. Palestine Betrayed, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2010. 342 pages.  
Paperback edition: April 2011.
14. Islamic Imperialism: A History, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2006.  
276 pages.  
Revised paperback edition: 2007.  
German edition: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 2007.
13. La Guerre d'Oslo, Paris, Les Editions de Passy, 2005 (with Joel Fishman). 254 pages.
12. Arafat's War: The Man and his Battle for Israeli Conquest, New York, Grove, 2003  
(hardcover and paperback). 296 pages.  
Hebrew edition: Tel-Aviv, Maariv, 2004.
11. Rethinking the Middle East, London, Routledge, 2003 (hardcover and paperback.). 210  
pages.
10. The Arab-Israeli Conflict. The Palestine 1948 War, Osprey's Essential Histories series,  
General Editor Robert O'Neill. Oxford, Osprey, 2002. 100 pages.
9. The Iran-Iraq War, Osprey's Essential Histories series, General Editor Robert O'Neill  
Oxford, Osprey, 2002. 100 pages.
8. Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789-1923,  
Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1999. 410 pages (with Inari Karsh).  
Paperback edition: 2001 (reprinted 2004).
7. Fabricating Israeli History: "The New Historians", London, Routledge, 1997 (Hardcover  
and paperback). 205 pages.  
Second, expanded edition: 2000 (reprinted 2003; electronic edition 2005).  
Hebrew edition: Ha-kibbutz Ha-meuhad, Tel-Aviv, 1999 (reprinted 2001).
6. The Gulf Conflict 1990-1991: Diplomacy and War in The New World Order, Princeton  
& London, Princeton University Press and Faber & Faber, 1993 (with Lawrence  
Freedman). 504 pages.  
Reprinted: 1993, 1994 (twice).  
First updated paperback edition: 1994.  
New York Times - Bestseller List (1993)  
New York Times - Notable Books of the Year (1993)
5. Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography, New York & London, The Free Press &  
Brassey's, 1991 (with Inari Rautsi). 307 pages.  
Revised and expanded paperback edition: Grove, New York, 2002.  
Updated paperback edition: Futura, London, 1991. 328 pages.  
Hebrew edition: Ma'arachot, Tel-Aviv, 1992.

Czech edition: Melantrich, Prague, 1994.

4. Soviet Policy towards Syria Since 1970, London & New York, Macmillan & St. Martin's Press, 1991. 235 pages.
3. Neutrality and Small States, London & New York, Routledge, 1988. 225 pages.  
Reissued in Routledge Revivals, December 2010.
2. The Soviet Union and Syria: The Asad Years, London & New York, Routledge for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1988. 127 pages.
1. The Cautious Bear: Soviet Military Engagement in Middle East Wars in the Post-1967 Era, Boulder, Westview Press, 1985. 100 pages.

### MONOGRAPHS

5. Arab Imperialism; the Tragedy of the Middle East, Ramat-Gan, Bar-Ilan University, 2006, BESA Papers, No. 69. 34 pages.  
Reprinted: Ha'ummah (Hebrew)
4. The Oslo War: Anatomy of Self-Delusion, Ramat-Gan, Bar-Ilan University, 2003, BESA Papers, No. 55 (Hebrew). 48 pages.
3. The Iran-Iraq War: A Military Analysis, London, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, Spring 1987, "Adelphi Papers", No. 220. 72 pages.  
Spanish edition: Ministerio de Defensa, 1988
2. The Nation State as an International Actor, Tel-Aviv, Open University Press, 1985 (With Immanuel Gutman, Hebrew). 75 pages.
1. Soviet Arms Transfers to the Middle East During the Seventies, Tel-Aviv University, The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, 1983, JCSS Paper No. 22. 43 pages.

### EDITED VOLUMES

15. Conflict, Diplomacy and Society in Israeli-Lebanese Relations, London, Routledge, 2009 (with Michael Kerr and Rory Miller). 156 pages.
14. Israel at Sixty: Rethinking the Birth of the Jewish State, London, Routledge, 2009 (with Rory Miller). 266 pages.
13. Islamic Attitudes to Israel, London, Routledge, 2008 (with P.R. Kumaraswamy). 200 pages.
12. Israel, the Hashemites, and the Palestinians: The Fateful Triangle, London, Routledge, 2003 (with P.R. Kumaraswamy; hardcover and paperback). 221 pages.

11. Israel: The First 100 Years. Vol. IV – Israel in the International Arena, London, Routledge, 2004 (hardcover and paperback). 351 pages.
10. Israel: The First 100 Years. Vol. III - Problems of Collective Identity, London, Routledge, 2002 (hardcover and paperback). 261 pages.
9. Israel: The First 100 Years. Vol. II - From War to Peace?, London, Routledge, 2000 (hardcover and paperback). 270 pages.
8. Israel: The First 100 Years. Vol. I - From Community to State, London, Routledge, 1999 (hardcover and paperback). 253 pages.
7. In Search of Identity: Jewish Aspects in Israeli Culture, London, Routledge, 1998 (with Dan Urian; hardcover and paperback). 288 pages.
6. From Rabin to Netanyahu: Israel's Troubled Agenda, London, Routledge, 1997 (hardcover and paperback). 420 pages.
5. Between War and Peace: Dilemmas of Israeli Security, London, Routledge, 1996 (hardcover and paperback). 298 pages.
4. Peace in the Middle East: The Challenge for Israel, London, Routledge, 1995 (hardcover and paperback). 167 pages.
3. Israel at the Crossroads, London and New York, British Academic Press and St. Martin's Press, 1994 (with Gregory Mahler). 261 pages.
2. Non-Conventional Weapons Proliferation in the Middle East: Tackling the Spread of Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Capabilities, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993 (with Martin Navias and Philip Sabin). 300 pages.
1. The Iran-Iraq War: Impact and Implications, London & New York, Macmillan & St. Martin's Press, 1989 (hardcover and paperback). 303 pages.

#### **ARTICLES & BOOK CHAPTERS**

109. "How Many Palestinian Arab Refugees Were There?" Israel Affairs, Vol. 17, No. 2 (April 2011).
108. "The European Neutrals and the War," in Frank McDonough (ed.), The Origins of the Second World War, London, Continuum, 2011.
107. "How the 'Sons of Iraq' Stabilized Postwar Iraq," Middle East Quarterly, Fall 2010, pp. 57-70 (with Mark wilbanks).
106. "[Adrift in Arabia](#)," Journal of International Security Affairs, No. 19, Fall 2010, pp. 77-86.

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105. "What's Behind Western Condemnation of Israel's War against Hamas?" Jerusalem Issue Brief, Vol. 8, No. 17, Jan. 11, 2009.  
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104. "The Middle East and the Cold War," in Madelon de Keizer en Ismee Tames (eds.), Small Nations. Crisis and Confrontation in the 20th Century, Amsterdam: Walburg Press, 2008, pp. 162-179.
103. "Muhammad: The Warrior Prophet," in Andrew Roberts (ed.), The Great Commanders London, Quercus Editions, 2008, pp. 244-251.
102. "Zionism and the Palestinians," Israel Affairs, Vol. 14, No. 3 (July 2008), pp. 355-373.

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101. [“1948, Israel, and the Palestinians - The True Story,”](#) Commentary, May 2008, pp. 23-29 & [“1948, Israel, and the Palestinians: Fully Annotated Text”](#) (Web only).  
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97. [“Did Edward Said Really Speak Truth to Power?”](#) *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Winter 2008), pp. 13-21 (with Rory Miller).
96. “The Missing Piece: Islamic Imperialism,” *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (October 2007), pp. 797-805.  
Reprinted in Philip Salzman & Donna Divine (eds.), *Post Colonial Theory and the Middle East Conflict* (London: Routledge, 2008).
95. “Europe’s Persecuted Muslims?” *Commentary*, April 2007, pp. 49-53 (with Rory Miller).
94. “Islam’s Imperial Dreams,” *Commentary*, April 2006, pp. 37-41.  
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